

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SAM-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07 NSAE-00

PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OMB-01

DODE-00 H-02 NSC-05 COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 /075 W
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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6437

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY OSLO

US MISSION NATO 1035

USEC BRUSSELS

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 5552

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, SP

SUBJECT: FIRST OBSERVATIONS ON POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE GOVERNMENTS
PROGRAMMATIC DECLARATION

REF: MADRID 5505

1. THE GOS DECLARATION (REF) SIGNALS A POLITICS OF
CONSENSUS IN RESPECT OF CONSTRUCTING A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL
SYSTEM UNDER THE MONARCHY. A CONSENSUS BASED ON CONSULTATION
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WITH ALLY AND DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION ALIKE. THE CENTRAL

POLITICAL CONCEPTS- NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE REFLECTED IN A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, CIVIL LIBERTIES IN A CLIMATE OF ORDER. A POPULAR MANDATE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES, DIALOGUE AND AN OPEN POLITICAL GAME FOR DEMOCRATIC GROUPS, AND TRADE UNION FREEDOMS GIVE FORM TO THE MORE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE KING'S ADDRESS TO THE JOINT SESSION OF OUR CONGRESS.

2. THE DECLARATION, BECAUSE IT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE KING'S ADDRESS AND SUAREZ FIRESIDE CHATE, REPRESENTS A VICTORY FOR SUAREZ AND FOR A KING WHOSE FORTUNES ARE CONSIDERABLY IMPLICATED IN THE KING'S ABILITY TO PULL OFF SUCCESSFULLY THE TRANSFORMATION TO A PARLIAMENTARY MONARCHY. THE VICTORY, THOUGH PERHAPS TRANSIENT, COMES ON AN IMPORTANT FRONT. THAT OF ESTABLISHING AN IMAGE OF AUTHORITY OVER EVENTS, THIS GOVERNMENT, BECAUSE OF THE UNCERTAINTIES ATTENDING ITS FORMATION AND THE MESS IN THE CORTES-- AS EVIDENCED BY THE FRACAS OVER THE CHANGES IN THE PENAL CODE-- HAD BEEN DOGGED BY THE SPECTRE THAT THIS MIGHT BE A GOVERNMENT OF GOOD INTENTIONS BUT LITTLE POWER. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE PHOTOS OF A TIRED BUT SMILING SUAREZ EMERGING FROM THE CABINET MEETING AT 2:30 A.M. ARE REVEALING.

3. INTERESTINGLY, EL PAIS (NEW INDEPENDENT LIBERAL DAILY WITH A FLAIR FOR WACKING AT THE BUNKER) ALSO CALLS IT A VICTORY FOR SUAREZ. BASED ON SOURCES WHO WOULD SEEM TO HAVE SOME KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT WENT ON, IT CLAIMS THAT THE INCLUSION OF THE PHRASES QTE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION UNQTE AND QTE THE PEOPLES INTEGRATED INTO THE INDISSOLUBLE UNITY OF SPAIN UNQTE WERE THE MOST CONFLICTIVE POINTS. THE FORMER REFLECTS THE FACT THAT WHEREAS ARIAS GOVERNMENT DECLARATIONS SEEMED TO LEAN ESPECIALLY TOWARD PLACATING THE RIGHT, THIS SUAREZ GOVERNMENT DECLARATION SEEMS TO CONCENTRATE MORE ON CATERING TO THE SENSITIVITIES OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT. THE LATTER MUST BE READ IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEED--BALANCED NEATLY IN THE PHRASE USED-- TO RECONCILE REGIONAL ASPIRATIONS WITH THE UNITY OF THE STATE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SPANISH MILITARY'S CONCERN THAT NOTHING BE DONE THAT WOULD IMPLY PANDERING

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TO DANGEROUS SEPARATIST TENDENCIES.

4. EL PAIS SUGGESTS THE LACK OF AN EXPLICIT CONDEMNATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY PRODUCED SOME ARGUMENT, BUT WE NOTE THE MILITARY ALREADY HAD ITS WAY ON THIS MATTER IN RESPECT OF CHANGES IN THE PENAL CODE. IT ALSO SUGGESTS THE "MOST CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS (A CODE WORD, ONE ASSUMES, FOR THE MILITARY) PUT THE BRAKE ON A MORE SPECIFIC ELABORATION OF DATES AND CONTENT

OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS AND OF THE TERMS IN WHICH IT WOULD BE PUT TO THE PEOPLE. (WE DO NOT KNOW HOW MUCH TENSION THE DECLARATION MAY HAVE CREATED WITH THE MILITARY MINISTERS.) IN POINT OF FACT ON OF THE PSOE'S MOST IMPORTANT LEADERS TOLD US SATURDAY THAT THEY WERE NOT BOTHERED BY THE VAGUENESS. THE GOS HAD OFFERED THEM THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT ON TH PROGRAM AND THE SOCIALISTS WERE READY TO NEGOTIATE. IF THE GOS HAD SPECIFIED EVERYTHING, THERE WOULD BE LITTLE ROOM FOR CONSULTATION AND NEGOTIATION. WE SHOULD ADD THAT THE QUESTION OF HOW TO DRAW UP A NEW PARLIAMENT IS NOT AN EASY ONE: THE ARIAS PROPOSAL HAD RUN INTO CONSIDERABLE TROUBLE. THE DIFFICULTIES THE ARIAS FORMULA FOR A REFERENDUM ENCOUNTERED WERE PART AND PARCEL OF THE DECISION TO REPLACE ARIAS. THESE ARE NOT MATTERS THAT CAN BE RESOLVED OVERNIGHT.

5. NO ONE EXPECTS-- LEAST OF ALL THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION THAT THE LEFT WILL WIN THE PARLMENTARY ELECTIONS SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE SOME TIME BEFORE JUNE OF NEXT YEAR, BUT THE GOS DECLARATION ATTACKS AN ESSTENIAL ELEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, TO GET AT LEAST THEIR TACIT ACQUIESCENCE IN A REFERENDU THAT ESTABLISHEDS A NATIONAL MANDATE FOR CHANGE UNDER THE MONARCHY AND, SUBSEQUENTLY, THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE NEW ELEDTORAL GAME, AT THE SAME TIME, SUAREZ FANNED THE MORE THAN LATENT ANTAGONISM TO HIM ON THE RIGHT. IT IS NO ACCIDENT THAT THE BROAD SURVEYS OF POLITICAL OPINION CARRIED IN THE SUNDAY PRESS SHOW THE COMMUNISTS AND THE FAR RIGHT (GIRON, FERNANDEZ DE LA MORA, BLAS PINAR, WHO WAS THREATENING) UNITED FOR DIFFERENT REASONS, IN STRONGLY CRITICIZING THE PROGAM. FOR TH RECORD, THE CARLIST LOONIES ALSO STRONGLY CRITICIZES THE PROGRAM, BUT THE ASSORTED SOCIALISTS, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS-- WHETHER IN OR OUT OF THE PLATAJUNTA--

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PRAISED IT WHILE NOTING THAT ACTIONS WOULD SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS IN FACT, THE DECLARATION SUCCEEDED, MONENTARILY AT LEAST, IN ISOLATING THE COMMUNISTS FROM THE DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS OF THE PLATA JUNTA.

6. THOUGH THE DECLARATION ESTABLISHES THE AUTHORITY OF THE SUAREZ GOVERNMENT IN SETTING OUT THE ROAD AHEAD. IT DOES NOT SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF EXACTLY HOW TO SHAPE THESE NEW INSTITUTIONS NOR HOW TO DRIVE THE PROCESS THROUGH. TO WIN THROUGH WILL REQUIRE COOPERATION FROM THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT THE ACQUIESCENCE OF THE MILITARY, AND NEUTRALIZATION OF THE FAR RIGHT. ALMOST CERTAINLY THE GREATEST THREAT COMES FROM THE SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEFT AND RIGHT. IN THIS RESPECT THE BOMBINGS OVER THE WEEKEND (WHICH

COULD AHVE BEEN DONE BY EITHER EXTREME RIGHT OR EXTREME
LEFT) ARE OBVIOUS ATTEMPT TO UNHINGE THE PROCESS (SEPTTEL),
STABLER

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